

CHAPTER FOUR

THE RISE OF TOWNLIFE, 1,100 TO 500 YEARS AGO

MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS

- ☐ Late Woodland phase begins, 1,100 to 500 years ago
- ☐ Initial European contacts, A.D. 1492 to 1607

SIGNIFICANT EVENTS

- ☐ Corn, squash, beans, and tobacco become important cultivated crops in the region by 1,000 years ago. The bow and arrow is introduced into the region.
- ☐ People begin building settled towns in the region. Potomac Creek culture ancestors of the Piscataways move into the lower Potomac Valley sometime around A..D. 1300.
- ☐ Europeans first land on the shores of the Caribbean in 1492 and Canada in 1497.
- ☐ Giovanni da Verrazano pens the earliest written record of contact in the region in 1524.
- ☐ Susquehannock immigrants from the upper Susquehanna River supplant Shenks Ferry culture people in the lower Pennsylvania Piedmont valley between 1550 and 1575.
- ☐ Early Spanish and English colonization attempts fail between 1571 and 1585.
- ☐ The Powhatan chiefdom develops along the James River coastal plain by 1600.

AN ECOLOGY OF PLACE AND PEOPLE

Place

By the beginning of what archeologists call Late Woodland times, by 1,100 years ago, diverse ecosystems had developed in the Chesapeake region. At the region's center stood the Bay, which by then was filled out into its present form. Its waters were wide, shallow, calm, and clear. The Bay supported a vast and complex food chain. Just as it does now, the base of this food chain consisted of floating microscopic aquatic plants called phytoplankton and tiny animals called zooplankton. All plankton are highly sensitive to seasonal changes in light, temperature, and water quality. One drop of water can contain thousands of plankton. They can live either alone or in groups. Under certain conditions, for example, masses of phytoplankton can gather to form large mats that float on the surface of Bay waters.

The Bay's zooplankton range in size from tiny single-celled protozoa to larger groups of cooperative, specialized cells. Life forms such as sea nettles and other jellyfish are actually communities of interdependent zooplankton cells. Tiny immature organisms - such as larvae of blue crabs, bay barnacles, and freshwater grass shrimps - are also considered zooplankton. Plankton provide food for other Bay creatures such as bottom dwelling common clam worms and American oysters. These and other invertebrates spend most of their lives in the deeper benthic waters of the Bay. Fish such as Atlantic menhaden feed on these and other organisms. In turn, those fish become food for larger fish, such as spot, American shad, and striped bass.

More than 200 different fish species are believed to have lived in Bay waters during Late Woodland times. Each species favored particular Bay environments and conditions at various times of its life. Only thirty-two of these species lived their entire lives in Bay waters. Most others

were migratory species, spending part of their lives in freshwater and part in salt water.

Anadromous species, such as American shad, appeared each spring to spawn in freshwater reaches of Bay tributaries. Catadromous species, such as American eels, migrated down freshwater rivers to breed in the open ocean. The remains of these fish and all other that died in the Bay were eaten by scavengers, such as blue crab and horseshoe crab.

As for plants, meadows of saltmarsh cordgrass and other salt tolerant plants flourished in tidal marshes bordering Chesapeake Bay waters. Nourished by rich sediments, these few species grew abundantly, molested by few natural predators, and provided shelter and sustenance for many of the region's animals.

Birds, too flourished in the Bay. Bay marshes were important feeding and breeding areas for waterfowl. Several species of ducks, geese, and swans feasted on aquatic vegetation and overwintered on the Bay. Sea ducks and other birds that lived mainly on open waters fed on clams, blue crabs, mud crabs, crayfish, fin-fish, insects, and aquatic plants.

The Bay saw a lot of bird traffic, as it stood at the center of what is now called the Atlantic Flyway. On their fall flights south, large flocks of waterfowl stopped in the Bay to rest. Surface-feeding or dabbling ducks, such as American coots and lesser scaups, began arriving in August. Migratory flocks of black ducks, brants, canvasbacks, mallards, wood ducks, and other larger dabblers first arriving in early September and crowded into Bay waters between early October and the middle of November. Snow and Canada geese, diving ducks such as double-crested cormorants and hooded mergansers, and a variety of other waterfowl also arrived during these months. Some stayed for many weeks; others continued on after only a brief stop in the Bay.

Few migratory birds of any type could be found on Chesapeake Bay waterways between late February and April. In the spring, the birds came back in the same order and on the same routes, migrating north to breeding grounds that for most were in Canada.

Bottomland and floodplain forests in both the coastal plain and the Piedmont also became key habitats for many bird species, and forested uplands and wetlands provided nesting and resting spots for neotropical migratory birds that bred in North America and wintered in Central or South America. Because the region had such large populations of species that birds could eat, predatory and scavenger birds, such as red-shouldered hawks, turkey vultures, bald eagles, barred owls, and others - lived there too. Bald eagles, for example, avidly hunted waterfowl and fish in the Bay and its' tributaries. Turkey vultures, in contrast, feasted on the corpses of all dead animals.

Passenger pigeons, other dove-like birds, and a wide variety of songbirds and other seed, berry, or insect-eating species also made their homes in coastal plain and Piedmont forests. Current estimates suggest that over 300 distinct species and subspecies of birds, including over thirty-seven species of waterfowl, lived in or passed across the Chesapeake region during this period.

Birds were not the only animals filling Chesapeake Bay skies. Clouds of saltmarsh mosquitoes and saltmarsh greenhead flies rose over tidal marshes during warmer months. Farther inland, many kinds of worms, beetles, and other insects fed on plants, carrion, and living flesh. Fleas, lice, deerflies, midges, mosquitoes, and other small biting insects made meals of animal blood. Bees, butterflies, and flies pollinated flowering plants. And in the mixed oak, maple, and

pine forests that bordered coastal plain marshes and Piedmont hydrosere wetlands, insects were the most numerous of the many animals that made their homes there.

A variety of southern mixed hardwood forests grew within the coastal plain. Most were mature forests of old adult trees dominated by ancient giants hundreds of years old and hundreds of feet high. Assessing the effects of more than 400 years of logging, scientists currently estimate that the mature forests of the Late Woodland era stood as much as fifty feet higher than those living in the region today. The tops of these trees tended to grow together into vast canopies, which prevented the sunlight from reaching and sustaining other plants below. The oldest of these trees had thick trunks many feet in diameter.

On higher ground, oaks and hickories tended to dominate mature forests. Communities of red maples, black gum, Atlantic white cedars, and bald cypresses grew in swampy lowlands. Loblolly pines and other softwood trees thrived on sandy soils along shorelines and across broad expanses of the southeastern Virginia coast.

Farther inland, in Piedmont forests, American chestnuts, a variety of oaks, poplars, American beeches, slippery elms, and several species of ashes, gums, and hickories were abundant. Shrubs, berry bushes, sedges, and grasses grew along the edges of forests, as well as in sunny clearings such as meadows, cliff sides, and swamps. Changes in the climate, periods of drier weather, and fires set off by lightning, accident, and hunters driving game or clearing underbrush, created patches of new forest growth and cleared openings for grasses, herbs, bushes, and other plants.

The Piedmont and coastal plain regions were also home to a huge array of other creatures. These included green frogs, bullfrogs, and at least twenty-six other species of amphibians;

common snapping turtles, eastern mud turtles, northern water snakes, and thirty-four other reptile species; and more than 120 species of mammals. The opossum, which carries and suckles its young in pouches, was the only surviving marsupial living in the Bay region - or anywhere else in North America - by Late Woodland times.

All other mammals in the region were placental species. Open ocean aquatic mammals such as porpoises, seals, and whales periodically visited Bay waters. Bats flew through the skies, and otters, muskrats, and beavers swam in the rivers and streams. Mice, voles, and other small rodents made their homes in marshes, grasslands, and forest floors, and a vast number of larger mammals lived in the region's forests and fields. Some were solitary animals, including plant eating woodland American bison, omnivorous black bears, and predatory cougars, lynxes, and bobcats. Others, such as white-tailed deer, raccoons, and porcupines, gathered together to mate or feed various times. Still others, such as gray wolves and beavers, were highly social animals living together in families or packs.

People

During the Late Woodland period, the region's human population grew, and these people began to live in larger groups. Archeologists see evidence of this in the increased number of campsites, shell heaps, garbage dumps, and, most dramatically, in the first appearances of large towns occupied for long periods of time. Such Late Woodland cultural developments as the farming of corn, bean, squash, and tobacco; the use of the bow and arrow for hunting and war; and the rise of political systems of unprecedented complexity known as chiefdoms, changed ways of life in the region considerably.

People throughout the region began to congregate in bigger and more thickly populated towns where they lived for greater parts of the year. The first clearly identifiable, year-round, permanent villages in the region date to this period. Most were situated near reliable water sources on the fertile soil necessary for growing crops, which the people planted in garden plots they hacked and burned from surrounding forests. Nearby, people built groups of sapling framed houses covered in sheathings of bark, thatched grass, or woven cattail mats. These communities were moved to new locales every ten or twenty years, after townsfolk had depleted the nutrients in nearby soils and used up all of the easily accessible firewood.

In the coastal plain, most towns consisted of collections of structures that seem now to have been haphazardly placed, perhaps more for convenience and nearness to friends and kin than for smooth traffic flow or beauty of arrangement. Many Piedmont towns, by contrast, were planned communities of houses in a circle around open plazas. They were similar in plan to the larger towns of the Mississippian mound builders and the other complex societies then flourishing farther south and west, in mid-America.

Fences of log stakes surrounded some of these towns. Most archeologists identify these palisade lines as fortifications and believe that they reveal the rise of political competition and warfare in the region. Many of these fences, however, were very flimsy and may have just served to keep out wandering animals, keep wandering children in, and discourage small raiding parties. They also may have been symbolic boundaries, reflecting and reinforcing more abstract concepts of authority and community identity.

Before this time, bodies of the dead were exposed to the elements, cremated, or buried in individual graves or in small cemeteries. But by Late Woodland times, the dead were increasingly

buried in large groups. When people living in coastal plain communities moved to a new location, for example, they often dug up the bones of dead relatives and buried them together in communal graves called ossuaries near their old homes. In contrast, people living in Piedmont valleys at this time buried their honored dead in low cone shaped or oblong earthen mounds, as did people living farther south and west.

The coming of Late Woodland times also brought dramatic changes in food production, weapons technology, tool type, pottery style, along with other cultural developments. Discoveries of preserved pollen and carbonized remains of seeds and other parts of domesticated corn, bean, squash, gourd, and tobacco - plants brought by or obtained from people living farther south and west - affirm that food production assumed high importance in many Chesapeake communities at this time. In places where forests grew on fertile, well drained soils near reliable sources of water, men and women cut and burned the vegetation to make planting grounds. Charred tree stumps were allowed to remain after undergrowth and brush were burned off, and crops were sown between these stumps. The people planted seeds and cared for seedlings with digging sticks and with bone, horn, and stone hoes fastened onto wooden handles. Cultivated plants were grown on raised mounds of soil, a method that offered some protection from frost and eased the tasks of tilling, weeding, and removing insect pests.

Late Woodland planters allowed leafy plants such as berry bushes and succulent greens to grow between cultivated mounds. These plants helped hold soil in place, reduce erosion, and divert insect and bird pests. They also attracted white-tailed deer and other game animals into easy range of hunters' bows and lances. The planters did not use manures as fertilizer; instead, they burned fields in the fall and spring, a practice that returned some nutrients to field soils.

However, most plots lost fertility within two or three years and were abandoned. Later colonists called these old fields. Such plots made ideal house sites, activity areas, and gathering places for berries, medicinal plants, edible greens, and strong supple young saplings used for house frames and tool handles.

Men and women gathered a wide variety of foods from plants and animals. Women filled twined fiber baskets and bark buckets with greens, tubers, berries, and nuts. Bird and turtle nests were raided for eggs, and beehives plundered for honey. Grubs and larvae - similar in taste and texture to shrimp or shellfish - were considered delicacies. Clams were collected on beaches and dug from mud flats. The flesh of snakes, frogs, and turtles was prized as a tasty and desirable food.

Archeological discoveries of small, finely crafted triangular projectile points of chipped stone show that newly imported and more powerful bows and arrows became common. Although spears or lances were still used, the bow and arrow probably replaced the spear thrower as the weapon of choice. The new arrowpoints were widely used. The projectile point varieties used during Middle Woodland times almost completely disappeared, and the bannerstones of those times vanished from the archeological record. Superior in range, accuracy, and hitting power, the bow and arrow was a major technological advance for Late Woodland people.

The much expanded Late Woodland tool kit included other stone implements, such as knives, scrapers, and drills of chipped stone; and axes, adzes, net-sinkers, pendants, mortars, gouges, and grinding stones made from ground basalt, limestone, and rocks. Late Woodland craftspeople also used a variety of other implements, including carved bone needles, awls, fish

hooks, and scrapers; beads of bone, shell, and copper; horn arrowpoints and hammers; and fired clay pots, jars, and tobacco pipes.

Stone, wood, skin, bone, and fiber served as the raw materials for many tools. Men swung heavy axes - made of carefully shaped and sharpened ground stones snugly fastened onto strong wooden handles - against tree trunks to break bark and splinter inner wood. Then they used firebrands to char the splinters, and in turn hacked those away. They repeated this process until the tree fell. Shorn of bark and planed with ground stone adzes, many trunks became support posts for houses and platforms. The insides of others, most often tulip poplars, were hollowed out with ground stone gouges and fire. Carefully smoothed and shaped on the outside with stone adzes, those trunks became dugout canoes, which were essential for transport and travel on the waters of the Bay and its tributaries.

Men used sharp chipped stone scrapers, planers, and knives to fashion thinner limbs of strong, supple trees such as alder, elm, and cedar into handles, frames, and shafts. Women used the same kinds of tools to scrape the flesh from skins and cut them into clothing pattern pieces. Using twined hemp, milkweed, and other plant fiber or animal sinews as thread, and needles made of bone or horn, they sewed these pieces together into skirts, shirts, leggings, loin-clothes, and other clothing. Tanned skins of snakes were crafted into belts, girdles, and decorative sashes. Shells of common snapping turtles and box turtles fixed to wooden handles, filled with pebbles, and shaken as rattles by dancers and shamans. Women carried loaded baskets, bundles of fire wood, and other burdens on their backs. They stretched tightly woven light and strong fur, hair, or fiber straps - known as tump lines - across their foreheads to help secure the loads.

White-tailed deer, elk, black bear, and a wide range of other animals were sought for their fur, flesh, fat, sinew, and bone. Trappers used string and sinew snares and dead falls of heavy logs to trap beavers, porcupines, and other animals. Woven milkweed and hemp fiber nets often were used to take small game such as rabbits. Hunters hurled stone tipped lances and used bows of alder or elm strung with sinew strings to fire stone and bone tipped reed or wood arrows, fletched with turkey and other bird feathers generating a spinning motion that improved accuracy, at larger prey. People hunted alone, in small teams, or large groups. Groups used fire and noise to drive panicked animals off the edges of cliffs or stampede them into bogs, rivers, or specially constructed brush and log enclosures, where hunters could slaughter them.

Late Woodland people also used a variety of tools to catch waterfowl and fish on the open waters of the Bay. They designed nets made of twined fiber, hair, and sinew for particular conditions, targets, and tasks, entangling flocks of birds and trapping fish. In the water, carved wooden floats kept these nets on the surface of water, and stone net-sinkers and weights helped them sink and secured them to riverbeds and the Bay floor. To catch fish in open waters, fishermen used long, sharp arrows; bone fish hooks and barbed spears; and scoop nets fixed to hoop handles made from saplings. They also impounded fish behind traps - known as weirs - which were long fences made of plaited saplings stretched across river narrows or along shallow tidal flats. Crabs, lobsters, and shrimp were taken in nets, caught by hand, and lured into specially constructed traps. Blunt arrows brought down birds without damaging skins or feathers, which were used for ornament and decoration.

New kinds of pottery appeared at various places in the region. The shell tempered Townsend ceramics frequently found in lower Delaware Valley sites came to be the most common

coastal plain pottery. By A.D. 1300, grit tempered Potomac Creek wares, which were first developed in Piedmont communities, became the favorite type of pottery among people living in lower portions of the Potomac Valley as well. And people living in the James River Valley increasingly used grit and shell tempered wares that resembled pots used by people farther south.

These appearances and disappearances of pottery styles in particular communities or cultures probably reflect political upheavals resulting from changing ways of life. Many archeologists, for example, think that the gradual appearance of Piedmont Potomac Creek wares in sites along the lower Potomac is evidence of the movement of historically chronicled Piscataway people from the interior to the coast. Small numbers of Potomac Creek wares also appeared in sites along the lower James River and in the Eastern Shore communities that used mostly Townsend series pots; this probably shows that the communities had contact with the new immigrants.

Farther north, between A.D. 1550 and 1575, the shell tempered Schultz wares that were common in the upper Susquehanna Valley gradually replaced grit tempered Shenks Ferry pots in lower Susquehanna Valley Piedmont sites. Because the disappearance of Schultz pots in the upper valley coincides with the disappearance of Shenks Ferry pots in its lower reaches, archeologists think that the Iroquoian speaking Susquehannock people probably moved south into the Chesapeake Piedmont at this time.

The appearance of planned villages in the Piedmont and the erection of prominent buildings, larger than most other town houses, in coastal plain communities suggests that the region's political organizations became chiefdoms. Chiefdoms are dynamic, aggressive forms of political organization. They are headed by powerful leaders and influential families that have

influence over large populations and substantial resources. One of these chiefdoms, the Powhatan Confederacy, was led by a man named Wahunsunacock. This chiefdom held sway over most coastal plain communities between the James and York rivers in southeastern Virginia by 1607, when English colonists established their Jamestown colony in the midst of his domain. The story of Wahunsunacock and the contact between his people and European colonists is told in the following chapter.

THE LATE WOODLAND CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

Peopling Places

The earliest appearances of cemeteries and ossuaries in and around sites that contain stylistically distinctive pottery styles limited to specific areas provide evidence that denser, more settled populations occupied smaller territories during Late Woodland times. And two pieces of scientific evidence show that many Chesapeake people relied heavily on corn and other starchy plants at this time. The teeth and jaws of many buried individuals exhibit cavities, abscesses, and other indications of poor dental health caused by decay of starchy food stuck between teeth. And stable Carbon 4 isotopes indicating the presence of corn in diets have been identified in the bones of many Chesapeake Bay people.

As far as the total Late Woodland population and the size of its communities are concerned, the existing archeological evidence is so scattered and fragmentary that it is impossible to estimate accurately. Relying on their traditions, some present day Native Americans claim that Late Woodland populations may have numbered into the hundreds of thousands. But because there is no evidence of the tools and technologies necessary to support such populations in the

forest environments of the period, most archeologists think that Late Woodland communities probably ranged in size from a few families to several thousand people. Those numbers closely match population figures that have been recorded more recently among similar societies with similar technologies in comparable environments elsewhere in the Americas, Africa, Asia, and Oceania.

Creation of Social Institutions

The significant increases in the size, number, and complexity of archeological sites and tool technologies dating to Late Woodland times points to increases in social complexity. As they took on new tools, crops, and ideas imported from cultures farther south and west and adapted them to the local social environment, Chesapeake people evidently formed increasingly complex societies capable of handling the needs of larger populations in smaller areas. The bands of former times had probably relied on informal bonds, but Late Woodland people probably started to keep track of more formally organized family lines, which linked people of common ancestry even though they lived in different, often widely separated places. Successful leaders of family lines who could attract and keep loyal followers gradually became able to grant power and influence to successors. Although it is not known exactly when chiefdoms such as the Powhatans began, influential hereditary leaders were exerting control over considerable areas of the region by the end of Late Woodland times.

Expressing Cultural Values

Many apparent expressions of cultural values appear during this time. Cemeteries, ossuaries, shell and copper beads and pendants, rock art in the forms of pecked petroglyphs or painted pictographs, and greater use of locally distinctive designs on clay pots and smoking pipes appear in and around Late Woodland archeological sites throughout the region. Yet no physical evidence tells for certain what these and other Late Woodland cultural expressions meant. Relying on oral traditions, many present day Indian people regard particular archeological sites, objects, and natural features as sacred. Drawing on accounts written by colonial observers and pointing to examples from similar types of societies elsewhere in the world, scholars suggest a range of possible explanations for their uses and meanings. At the Shenks Ferry site in the Pennsylvania Piedmont, for example, structures and burials are aligned toward the east. This is seen as evidence that the people used the rising solstice sun to time the planting and harvesting of crops. Places and objects themselves, however, cannot speak. Unless we find some more direct form of evidence, we can only guess at the roles, functions, and meanings of Late Woodland cultural expressions.

Shaping the Political Landscape

The more authoritarian chiefdoms chronicled by colonial observers first emerged during this period. Archeologists base this understanding in part on the period's larger, occasionally planned communities, sometimes surrounded by fortified log palisades, which were more concentrated and located in more widely separated portions of the region. More than one scholar has characterized this pattern as a series of small isolated islands of people surrounded by vast seas of forest. Unlike leaders in earlier political systems, who had served their followers as firsts among equals, leaders

of chiefdoms became hereditary rulers of more stratified societies. These chiefs had more political control over followers than their predecessors did, partly because they were supported by priests, warriors, and others also claiming higher ranks than those held by the rest of the community. This is the kind of political organization that could command the labor and energy that leaves the type of evidence preserved in the Late Woodland archeological record in the Chesapeake region.

Developing the Chesapeake Economy

This archeological evidence suggests that economic productivity increased dramatically during Late Woodland times. Such increases both provided new opportunities and posed previously unknown challenges. New domesticated crops, including corn, beans, squash, and tobacco, offered possibilities of higher and more reliable plant food yields. These increased dependence on crops that promised better nutrition when harvests were good. But it also brought the possibility of famine when drought, disease, and other disasters drastically lowered production.

Bows and arrows increased the range and striking power of hunters and warriors. These advances meant more meat in the diet, more furs for clothing, and greater efficiency in warfare. They also increased both potential productivity and potential peril. This helped leaders promising protection and prosperity increase control over producers and production. Those chiefs who were skillful at using economic power by redistributing surpluses and overseeing trade gained political control of societies almost everywhere in the region by the end of Late Woodland times.

Expanding Science and Technology

As all of these changes and advances worked in tandem, changes in technology affected cultural, social, and political conditions. Potters who wanted to increase the strength and carrying capacity of cooking pots and storage wares, for example, experimented with new shapes, production techniques, and tempering agents such as sand, crushed shells, or ground stone mixed into wet clays to strengthen vessel walls and lighten pot weight. These better pots improved cooking; more effectively protected stored corn and other products from rot, insects, and spoilage; and enabled people to transport larger amounts of goods and products faster, further, and more safely in dugout canoes.

As in the earlier Woodland phases, advances in net construction, cordage manufacturing, basket weaving, and other fiber technologies are shown in the impressions of fabrics pressed into wet clay as decorations. Corn cobs were also used to decorate wet clay, providing further evidence of presence of domesticated corn, another major scientific and technological achievement of the period. Genetic analyses of the types of corn grown by Late Woodland people show that Native American cultivators chose and planted particular types of seed to develop that were increasingly resistant to local patterns of disease, drought, and frost.

The larger and wealthier chiefdoms arising in the region required larger and more efficient forms of transportation to effectively navigate regional waterways, so dugout canoes crafted from tree trunks grew in size and importance. And stone drills and grinding stones converted shells gathered from Bay shores into gorgets, beads, and other kinds of spiritually meaningful signs of wealth and status that are vital to powerful chiefs and their communities.

Transforming the Environment

The growing populations living in larger, more centralized food producing communities almost certainly affected regional biological communities. Some of the activities that probably had an impact are intensified hunting, gathering, land clearing, and waste disposal. People helped to maintain environmental conditions by ritually limiting harvests of desirable plants and animals and by accidentally or deliberately setting fires to clear underbrush, return nutrients to the soil, and drive game during group hunts. And the absence of sites in border lands between historically documented chiefdoms allowed dense undergrowth to flourish; these areas were likely to have been used by people as game preserves and defensive frontiers.

Changing Role of the Chesapeake in the World Community

Virtually all known developments in Late Woodland Chesapeake Bay life and culture can be traced to sources outside the region. New ideas and materials traveled on the widespread river systems and trail networks that linked the region to other parts of the continent, and from there they moved eventually to the rest of the world. As in earlier periods, then, the Late Woodland people in the Chesapeake Bay region were largely the beneficiaries of developments coming from elsewhere. This situation changed dramatically with the arrival of strangers from Europe on Chesapeake Bay shores, an event that signaled the end of Late Woodland times.

KEY LOCALES

Delaware

Barker's Landing
Clyde Farm
Killen's Pond

District of Columbia

Nacotchtank

Maryland

Accokeek Creek National Historic Landmark
Conowingo
Cumberland
Duck Run
Hughes
Juhle
Lankford
Locust Neck
Moore Village
Posey/Indian Head
Ritter
Rosenstock
Shepard
Solomons
Stearns
Thomas Point
Waveland Farm
Wessel
Winslow

Pennsylvania

Blue Rock/Nace
Kauffman II
Murry
Schultz-Funk
Shenks Ferry
Slackwater
Upper Bare Island Rockshelter

Virginia

Bluefish Beach
Boathouse Pond
Bull Hill Run

Camden National Historic Landmark
Deshazo
Flowerdew Hundred
Governor's Land
Great Neck
Hartwell
Hatch
Jordans Point
Little Marsh Creek
Point of Fork
Potomac Creek
Reynolds-Alvis
Taft
White Oak Point

FURTHER INFORMATION

Studies reviewing what is known and unknown about Late Woodland people and places include the following:

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Jay F. Custer, *Prehistoric Cultures of Eastern Pennsylvania* (1996:263-300).
Richard J. Dent, Jr., *Chesapeake Prehistory* (1995:243-60).
Stephen R. Potter, *Commoners, Tribute, and Chiefs: The Development of Algonquian Culture in the Potomac Valley* (1993).
Theodore R. Reinhart and Mary Ellen N. Hodges, *Middle and Late Woodland Research in Virginia* (1992).
Helen C. Rountree, *The Powhatan Indians of Virginia* (1988).
---- and Thomas A. Davidson, *Eastern Shore Indians of Virginia and Maryland* (1997).